

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 AF-08 EUR-12 ISO-00 ARA-06 EA-07 NEA-10
CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00
NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00
USIE-00 INRE-00 DHA-02 TRSE-00 /098 W
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O 300316Z MAR 77
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2982
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL CAPETOWN IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 USUN 0947

CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

MOSCOW FOR SECRETARY'S PARTY

GENEVA FOR MAYNES

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, UNSC, US, UN, SR, WA
SUBJECT: UNSC DEBATE ON SOUTH AFRICA

REF: USUN 929 (NOTAL)

1. US, UK, FRANCE, FRG AND CANADA MET AM MARCH 29 TO DISCUSS
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DEMARCHE AND CONTACT GROUP (REFTEL) IN MORE DETAIL. CONSENSUS
EMERGED THAT DEMARCHE SHOULD BE PRESENTED ON TUESDAY, APRIL 5.
IF LETTERS CANNOT BE SIGNED AND POUCHED TO CAPETOWN BEFORE THEN,
THE TEXTS COULD BE PRESENTED, WITH THE ACTUAL LETTERS TO BE
HANDED OVER LATER UPON RECEIPT.

2. RE CONTACT GROUP, GROUP DECIDED TO SUGGEST TO CAPITALS

THAT HIGH-LEVEL MEETINGS BE HELD IN NEW YORK FOR SEVERAL DAYS BEGINNING APRIL 18 TO EXCHANGE IDEAS AND SET PRIORITIES, TALKING POINTS, AND OTHER MODALITIES. IT WAS THOUGHT THAT THESE MEETINGS MIGHT BE ATTENDED BY THE EQUIVALENT OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR AFRICAN AFFAIRS OR HIS DEPUTY, AND OTHER POLITICAL AND LEGAL OFFICERS AS DEEMED NECESSARY. THEY WOULD DECIDE THE COMPOSITION OF THE CONTACT GROUP TEAMS. WORKING GROUP THOUGHT THESE TEAMS MIGHT CONSIST OF OFFICIAL FROM CAPITAL, UN MISOFF (TO KEEP UN MISSION PARTICIPATION WITHOUT DEPLOYING PERREPS OR AMBASSADORS), AND EMBASSY REP. THERE WERE SUGGESTIONS TO HOLD HIGH-LEVEL NY MEETINGS BEFORE APRIL 18, BUT FRANCE POINTED OUT THAT EASTER HOLIDAYS WOULD PREVENT THEM FROM BEING READY EARLIER. IT WAS BELIEVED THAT CONTACT GROUP SHOULD AIM FOR ARRIVING IN SOUTH AFRICA ON APRIL 25, ASSUMING SAG ACCEPTANCE OF PLAN OF HOLDING TALKS. HIGH-LEVEL MEETINGS IN NY WOULD BE PRECEDED BY SEVERAL WORKING-LEVEL MEETINGS TO BE HELD IN NEW YORK BEGINNING APRIL 5. TO MAKE SUGGESTIONS TO CAPITALS AND RECEIVE REACTIONS WITH PURPOSE OF LAYING AS MUCH GROUNDWORK AS POSSIBLE.

3. SINCE THERE WERE NO REACTIONS FROM SEVERAL CAPITOLS ON PREVIOUS DAY'S MEETING (REFTEL) , MISOFFS DECIDED TO POSTPONE FURTHER DISCUSSIONS ON DETAILS OF CONTACT GROUP.

4. NEAR THE END OF THE MORNING SC DEBATE (SEPTTEL), AMB RAMPHUL OF MAURITIUS DISTRIVUTED COPIES OF AFRICAN COUNTER-PROPOSAL TO OTHER MEMBERS OF COUNCIL, CONSISTING OF DRAFT RESOLUTION (PARA6) AND DRAFT DECLARATION (PARA7). BECAUSE OF NEED FOR WESTERN CONSULTATIONS AND LENGTH CONFIDENTIAL

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OF PM SC MEETING ON MIDDLE EAST, INFORMAL MEETING OF WESTERN AND AFRICAN GROUPS PREVIOUSLY SCHEDULED FOR 5:30 PM(REFTEL) WAS CANCELLED. WESTERN GROUP WILL MEET AT AMBASSADORIAL LEVEL AT 9:00 AM MARCH 30 AT USUN TO DISCUSS NEGOTIATIONS. AMB RAMPHUL ASKED FOR MEETING WITH AMB YOUNG (IN HIS CAPACITY AS SC PRESIDENT) AT 9:45 AND FOLLOWING THAT THERE WILL BE SERIES OF CONSULTATIONS ON THE DRAFTS.

5. WESTERN GP WORKING LEVEL MET PM MARCH 29 TO GO OVER AFRICAN GP PROPOSAL IN DETAIL AD REFERENDUM. CONSENSUS WAS THAT AFRICAN PROPOSAL WAS NEGOTIABLE AND COULD PRESENT BASIS FOR AGREEMENT. PARA-BY-PARA STUDY BROUGHT OUT MANY AGREED-UPON SUGGESTIONS FOR CHANGES WHICH FOCUSED PRIMARILY ON THE FOLLOWING:

DRAFT RESOLUTION:

- A) PREAMBULAR PARAS 3 AND 4 ARE UNACCEPTABLE;
- B) OP PARA 3 REFERENCE TO DATE IS UNACCEPTABLE BUT GP CAN FALL-BACK TO ACCEPT JULY 15 AS DATE FOR ANOTHER SC MEETING ON ISSUE;

DRAFT DECLARATION:

- A) PURPLE PROSE MUST BE TONED DOWN;
- B) REFERENCES TO "LIBERATION MOVEMENTS" SHOULD BE REMOVED;
- C) STATEMENT REFERRING TO PROTECTION OF RIGHTS OF MONIORITYES OR EQUIVALENT MUST BE INCLUDED;
- D) SECOND AND THIRD SENTENCES OF PARA 16 MUST BE DELETED;
- E) ADDITIONALLY MANY SMALLER OR LESS IMPORTANT CHANGES WERE SUGGESTED.

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-----300455Z 042863 /22

O 300316Z MAR 77
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2983
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6. QUOTE - DRAFT RESOLUTION
THE SECURITY COUNCIL,

1. GRAVELY CONCERNED OVER THE SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA
AND IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AS A WHOLE WHICH, IF CONTINUED, WILL
LEAD TO A GRAVE THREAT TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY,

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2. CONVINCED THAT URGENT MEASURES MUST BE TAKEN BY THE SECURITY
COUNCIL TO SECURE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ITS RESOLUTIONS
AND THEREBY PROMOTE A SOLUTION TO THE GRAVE SITUATION IN
SOUTH AFRICA AND IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AS A WHOLE,

3. REAFFIRMING ITS RESOLUTIONS ON THE QUESTION OF SOUTH
AFRICA AND IN PARTICULAR RESOLUTION 392 OF 19 JUNE 1976,

4. TAKING NOTE OF RESOLUTION 31/6 A-K ADOPTED BY THE
GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON 26 OCTOBER AND 9 NOVEMBER 1976,

5. TAKING NOTE OF THE FOUR DRAFT RESOLUTIONS PROPOSED BY
THE NON-ALIGNED AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL:

1. ADOPTS THE DECLARATION ANNEXED TO THIS RESOLUTION,
AND CALLS ON THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT URGENTLY TO TAKE ALL
NECESSARY MEASURES FOR THE FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF ITS PROVISIONS;
2. REQUESTS ALL MEMBER STATES TO TAKE ALL APPROPRIATE STEPS
TOWARDS THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION;
3. DECIDES TO REMAIN SEIZED OF THE MATTER AND TO MEET NOT
LATER THAN 7 JUNE 1977 TO CONSIDER SUCH FURTHER EFFECTIVE
MEASURES, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE CHARTER, AS MAY BE NECESSARY
TO SECURE THE URGENT AND FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DECLARATION.

UNQUOTE.

7. QUOTE - DRAFT DECLARATION ON THE QUESTION OF SOUTH AFRICA

1. FREEDOM, JUSTICE AND PEACE IN THE WORLD ARE FOUNDED ON
THE RECOGNITION OF THE INHERENT DIGNITY AND OF THE EQUAL
AND INALIENABLE RIGHTS OF ALL MEMBERS OF THE HUMAN FAMILY
AND OF SELF-DETERMINATION OF PEOPLES.

2. CONDITIONS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA REQUIRES A PARTICULAR RE-
AFFIRMATION OF THESE BASIC RIGHTS;

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3. EVERY PERSON IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, AS ELSEWHERE, IS ENTITLED, WITHOUT DISTICTION OF ANY KIND AS TO RACE, SEX, LANGUAGE OR RELIGION, TO THE FULL AND EQUAL ENJOYMENT OF POLITICAL, CIVIL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL RIGHTS WITHIN HIS COUNTRY;

4. THE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA ARE THE DENIAL OF THE ABOVE MENTIONED RIGHTS TO THE GREAT MAJORITY OF THE POPULATION ON THE GROUNDS OF RACE AND COLOUR THROUGH A SYSTEM OF INSTITUTIONALIZED RACISM, APARTHEID; IN NAMIBIA, THE ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL TERRITORY; IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA, THE EXISTENCE OF AN ILLEGAL, REPRESSIVE AND RACIST MINORITY REGIME; AND IN THE WHOLE AREA, THE ACTIVITIES OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT AGAINST THE OBJECTIVES OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND ITS AGGRESSIONS AND THREATS AGAINST INDEPENDENT AFRICAN STATES;

5. UNDER THE CHARTER, THE UNITED NATIONS HAS FUNDAMENTAL RESPONSIBILITIES FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY AND THE PROMOTION OF SOCIAL PROGRESS AND BETTER STANDARDS OF LIFE IN LARGER FREEDOM;

6. THE SECURITY COUNCIL REJECTS ALL ASPECTS OF THE APARTHEID SYSTEM AND ALL RELATED SYSTEMS WHICH IMPOSE SEPARATION BASED ON RACIAL DISCRIMINATION, INCLUDING THE IMPOSITION OF "BANTUSTANS", WHICH DIVIDE THE POPULATION, AND PROMOTE FRATICIDAL STRIFE, AND DEPRIVE THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE OF THEIR CITIZENSHIP AND INALIENABLE RIGHTS TO SELF-DETERMINATION AND FURTHER DENIES THEM A JUSTAND EQUITABLE SHARING OF THE NATIONAL PRODUCTIONAND RESOURCES;

7. THE SECURITY COUNCIL REGARDS THESE INHUMANE SYSTEMS AS FUNDAMENTAL VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND OF THE PURPOSES OF THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS. IT CONSIDERS THESE POLICIES AS DESIGNED TO PERPETUATE DOMINATION BASED ON EXPLOITATION AND SOCIAL DEPRIVATION;
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8. THE SECURITY COUNCIL RECOGNIZES THAT RACIST DOMINATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA INVOLVE GROSS VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND IS IMPOSED AND PERPETUATED BY THE MASSIVE ESCALATION OF VIOLENT REPRESSION. IT HAS LED TO AN EVER-WIDENING DEPRIVATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, THE TORTURE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AND THE DEATH OF DETAINEES AND THE GROWING ELIMINATION OF FREEDOM OF THOUGHT AND EXPRESSION;

9. IT REAFFIRMS THAT APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA, IN PARTICULAR, IS A CRIME AGAINST THE CONSCIENCE AND DIGNITY

OF MANKIND AND SERIOUSLY DISTURBS INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY;

10. THESE REPRESSIVE SYSTEMS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA MUST BE REPLACED BY GOVERNMENTS DERIVING THEIR AUTHORITY FROM THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED. FULL AND EQUAL PARTNERSHIP OF ALL INDIVIDUALS MUST FUND ITS EXPRESSION THROUGH MAJORITY RULE WHICH MEANS THAT ALL, REGARDLESS OF RACE, ARE ENTITLED TO PARTICIPATE IN ALL PHASES OF NATIONAL LIFE AND TO JOIN IN FREELY DETERMINING THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CHARACTER OF THEIR SOCIETY;

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11. THE SECURITY COUNCIL AFFIRMS THE RIGHTS OF ALL THE PEOPLES

OF SOUTH AFRICA, IRRESPECTIVE OF RACE, COLOUR OR CRED,
AND THAT A MINORITY CANNOT DECIDE FOR THE MAJORITY. IT
REAFFIRMS THE SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY OF THE UNITED NATIONS
FOR NAMIBIA. IT DECLARES THAT THE PEOPLES OF NAMIBIA
AND SOUTHERN RHODESIA ARE ENTITLED TO FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE
IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE DECLARATION ON THE GRANTING OF INDE-
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PENDENCE TO COLONIAL COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES;

12. FAILURE TO ELIMINATE THE INSTITUTIONS OF APARTHEID AND
RELATED SYSTEMS AS WELL AS THE REPRESSION REQUIRED TO ATTEMPTS
TO MAINTAIN THEM HAVE PRODUCED VIOLENCE AND CONFLICT, AND
WILL INEVITABLY ENCOURAGE EVEN GREATER VIOLENCE AND CONFLICT.

13. THE SECURITY COUNCIL EXPRESSES ITS SUPPORT FOR,
AND SOLIDARITY WITH, ALL THOSE STRIVING FOR THE ELIMINATION
OF APARTHEID, RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND COLONIAL RULE AND ALL
VICTIMS OF VIOLENCE AND REPRESSION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA;

14. THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND ITS MEMBERS REAFFIRM THEIR INTENTION
TO USE THEIR SEPARATE AND COLLECTIVE EFFORTS FORTHWITH
AND ON A CONTINUING BASIS TO BRING ABOUT THE ELIMINATION OF
APARTHEID, COLONIAL RULE AND ALL FORMS OF RACIAL DISCRIMINATION
AND RECOGNIZE THE NEED FOR INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE FOR THE
VICTIMS OF SUCH OPPRESSION AND THEIR LIBERATION MOVEMENTS
RECOGNISED BY THE OAU, IN THEIR LEGITIMATE STRUGGLE TO
ATTAIN THEIR INALIENABLE RIGHTS TO SELF-DETERMINATION.

15. THE SECURITY COUNCIL HAS BEEN CONCERNED SINCE 1963 OVER
THE MILITARY BUILD-UP BY THE MINORITY GOVERNMENT IN SOUTH
AFRICA, AND THE CONSEQUENT DANGER OF ESCALATION OF CONFLICT.
IT THEREFORE RECOMMENDED AN ARMS EMBARGO WHICH SHOULD BE MORE
EFFECTIVELY AND UNIVERSALLY IMPLEMENTED. IN THIS RESPECT
THE SECURITY COUNCIL RECALLS GENERAL ASSEMBLY RESOLUTION
A/31/6D OF 9 NOVEMBER 1976 CALLING FOR AN ARMS EMBARGO
AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA.

16. THE SECURITY COUNCIL RECOGNIZES THAT THE MINORITY
REGIMES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA HAVE FOLLOWED POLICIES WHICH
ARE UTTERLY CONTRARARY TO THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC VALUES
CHERISHED BY THE ORGANIZATION AND ITS MEMBER STATES. THE
HAVE DENIED ELEMENTARY RIGHTS TO THE GREAT MAJORITY OF THE
POPULATION SO THAT ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PERPETUATES AND IN-
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TENSIFIES INEQUALITY ON THE BASIS OF RACE, WITH THE MINORITY APPROPRIATING A DISPROPORTIONATE SHARE OF THE WEALTH. THE SECURITY COUNCIL, THEREFORE, AGREES THAT ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION WITH THE MINORITY REGIMES SHOULD BE TERMINATED UNLESS APARTHEID AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION ARE ABANDONED AS STATE POLICIES. IN THIS RESPECT SOME MEMBER STATES HAVE TAKEN A NUMBER OF ECONOMIC AND OTHER MEASURES IN ACCORDANCE WITH UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTIONS, TO DEMONSTRATE THEIR OPPOSITION TO APARTHEID AND THEIR CONCERN OVER THE SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA. SUCH MEASURES ARE TO BE ENCOURAGED AND REINFORCED;

17. SECURITY COUNCIL DECLARES THAT SOUTH AFRICA MUST:

- (A) TAKE IMMEDIATE STEPS TO ELIMINATE THE POLICY AND PRACTICE OF APARTHEID AND GRANT TO ALL ITS INHABITANTS EQUAL RIGHTS, INCLUDING EQUAL POLITICAL RIGHTS AND A FULL AND FREE VOICE IN THEIR DESTINY;
- (B) TERMINATE ALL SYSTEMS AND PLANS UNDER WHATEVER NAME WHICH FORCIBLY SEPARATE ELEMENTS OF THE POPULATION ON THE BASIS OF RACE WHETHER WITHIN A UNITARY STATE OR IN THE FORM OF SEPARATE POLITICAL UNITS;
- (C) DISMANTLE THE SYSTEM OF APARTHEID AND THE POLICY OF BANTUSTANIZATION, AND ABROGATE ALL RACIALLY DISCRIMINATORY LAWS AND MEASURES;
- (D) GRANT AN UNCONDITIONAL AMNESTY TO ALL PERSONS IMPRISONED, RESTRICTED OR EXILED FOR THEIR OPPOSITION TO APARTHEID;
- (E) END ITS ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF NAMIBIA AND COMPLY WITH THE UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTIONS, ON NAMIBIA, PARTICULARLY SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 385 (1976) WHICH INTER ALIA CALLED FOR THE HOLDING IN NAMIBIA ON A TERRITORY-WIDE BASIS OF FREE ELECTIONS UNDER THE SUPERVISION AND CONTROL OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND REFRAIN FROM ANY STEPS INCONSISTENT THEREWITH;
- (F) COMPLY WITH SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS ON THE QUESTION OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA, PARTICULARLY THOSE DEALING WITH SANCTIONS AGAINST THE ILLEGAL MINORITY REGIME;

18. THE SECURITY COUNCIL DECLARES THAT SO-CALLED INTERNATIONAL CONFIDENTIAL

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ARRANGEMENTS UNDER CONDITIONS OF REPRESSION AND EXCLUSION OF FREE PARTICIPATION BY THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS RECOGNIZED BY THE OAU ARE UNTENABLE AND UNACCEPTABLE;

19. THE SECURITY COUNCIL WILL SEEK TO WORK CONSTRUCTIVELY WITH OTHER UNITED NATIONS BODIES AND THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY, AND WITH ALL THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA FOR A JUST SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEMS OF THE AREA, ON THE BASIS OF MAJORITY RULE;

20. THROUGH INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATION TO SECURE SOLUTIONS TO THESE PROBLEMS, A NEW ERA IN THE HISTORY OF MAN CAN BE

BROUGHT INTO BEING AND A MAJOR STEP TAKEN TO REALIZE THE GOALS FOR WHICH THE UNITED NATIONS WAS ESTABLISHED;

21. ONLY IN SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES CAN PEACE AND SECURITY IN THE REGION BE ENSURED, FREEDOM AND PROSPERITY ATTAINED, AND SOUTH AFRICA, NAMIBIA AND SOUTHERN RHODESIA ENABLED TO MAKE THEIR FULL CONTRIBUTION TO THE CONTINENT.

22. THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND ITS MEMBERS DECLARE THEIR INTENTION TO SUPPORT ACTIONS DESIGNED TO SECURE THE RESOLUTION, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE ABOVE PRINCIPLES, OF THE PRESSING PROBLEMS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA, AND TO ASSIST ALL ITS PEOPLES IN THE ATTAINMENT OF THEIR LEGITIMATE RIGHTS, SO THAT ALL MEN MAY PRACTISE TOLERANCE AND LIVE TOGETHER IN PEACE.

UNQUOTE.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
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Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: DEBATES
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Decaption Note:
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Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
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Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770108-0593
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Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
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Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
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Review Release Event: n/a
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Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
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Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009